

should not our nation be willing to take risks for real peace in the interest of a world tired of the cruelties and horrors of war?

#### HYSTERIA OF 1812

We had a very disastrous fit of hysteria in 1812, resulting in our second war with Great Britain. Some of our historians charge Henry Clay, then speaker of the house of representatives, with fomenting this hysteria. Let me quote what one of the greatest statesmen of the antebellum period said of that war. I refer to Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts. I quote from a memorable oration delivered by Sumner in 1845:

The fruitlessness and vanity of war appear in the results of the great wars by which the world has been liberated. After long struggles, in which each nation has inflicted and received incalculable injury, peace has been gladly obtained on the basis of the condition of things before the war. Let me refer, for an example, to our last war with Great Britain, the professed object of which was to obtain from the latter power and renunciation of her claim to impress our seamen. The greatest number of American seamen ever officially alleged to be compulsory serving in the British navy was about 800. To overturn this injustice, the whole country was doomed for more than three years to the accursed blight of war. Our commerce was driven from the seas; resources of the land were drained by taxation; villages on the Canadian frontier were laid in ashes; the metropolis of the republic was captured; the White House burned, while gaunt distress raged everywhere within our borders. Weary with this rude trial, our government appointed commissioners to treat for peace, under these instructions: "Your first duty will be to conclude peace with Great Britain, and you are authorized to do it."

That is, we had some 2,000 soldiers killed, twice as many more maimed, and involved the country in an enormous debt, and then made a peace compact with Great Britain which left the impressment of our American seamen unsettled, or just where it was before the war.

#### THE COSTLY HYSTERIA OF 1898

We had another violent and costly fit of military hysteria in 1898. It is now known that Cuba could have been freed without war against Spain and without shedding one drop of the blood of an American soldier. After this brief but costly war we paid Spain, a whipped nation, twenty millions for a vast group of islands, 10,000 miles away in the tropical Orient, when Spain had neither possession nor control. In fact, Spain had nothing to sell except the royal prerogative of her boy King Alfonso. We parted with our twenty millions for a tablet upon which to write the epitaph of the republic of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln.

The Baltimore platform pledges the democratic party to immediate action on the Philippine problem. Lest we forget, I quote from that platform:

We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established.

As the Philippine islands are both a menace and a burden and have cost us to date over one thousand millions of worse than wasted money and the lives of over 16,000 soldiers and a pension list of over 35 millions, why not recognize now, as a measure of national defense, that solemn promise in our national platform? (Applause.) We could then bring back some 13,000 seasoned and experienced soldiers to join our army at home. It would also lift the white man's burden in the tropical Orient and shorten our battle line some 10,000 miles should Japan seek to dominate the Pacific ocean. We would save about forty millions of money, now wasted yearly in the Philippines, and save also the dangerous menace of passing another emergency tax bill in the immediate presence of a presidential campaign.

Seriously, is this not more important and vital than following the lead of a mercenary coterie of murderous shrapnel and munition makers, who are coining unholy millions in the blood of innocent citizens across the Atlantic? (Applause.) Nearly all our recognized leaders of social ethics, nearly all our great humanitarians and teachers are against this preparedness business. You can count the defenders of this wicked folly among our great teachers of moral and economic reform on the fingers of your two hands.

It is proposed to tax a patient and tolerant people, already overtaxed, that an overpowering army of idlers may be endowed to consume the savings of the industrial classes, increasing the already high cost of living, and producing nothing but discontent and trouble. It is a crime against the republic. It is without sanity, without sense, and without excuse. And the same

brood of blood-money gangsters are recommending a buzzard brood of aeroplanes. The devil of late has learned to deal destruction and death from the sky. His victims have been mostly women and children and babes. And the devil's allies now clamor for this latest and most barbarous of all war's brutalities as a part of the military outfit of this so-called Christian republic. Furthermore, of what possible use can we ever have of aeroplanes, either to resist or aggressively fight an enemy with 3,000 miles of ocean between?

#### OLD-AGE PENSIONS

Instead of increasing our standing army, already costing the taxpayers over one hundred millions a year, I favor reducing it one-half, to 50,000 men. This would probably save close to fifty millions per year. I would use an adequate sum to improve and strengthen our National Guard, which, should war ever come, will prove our chief reliance. I would set apart, say, ten millions as a starter for old-age pensions to the worthy workers, the wealth producers in our busy hives of industry. Nothing would do such valuable service in healing the constant conflicts between capital and labor as a humane system of old-age pensions, such as Prince Bismarck inaugurated in the German empire. Not only would this benign alleviation of the woes of the workers heal the antagonism now so apparent in labor strikes, but it would be an inspiration of patriotism to every worthy worker in the United States. Our flag would then be a hope and a symbol of helpfulness, saying to every son of toil, Be true, be faithful to your trust, and when old age comes on apace this flag with the shining stars will be your protector, and a grateful nation will help you to make your last days on earth comfortable and full of gratitude. As a matter of national defense it would be a cognate inspiration to every worker. Under this proposed system of economic reform and patriotic preparedness we could use ten millions to inaugurate a humane system of old-age pensions, and spend five millions in perfecting the national guard and then save thirty-five millions of our present army budget. This would relieve our weary ways and means committee of much wear and worry and prove a balm and a sweet solace to the great troubled army of overtaxed taxpayers. And the ten millions would give 100,000 old-age pensions at \$100 per year. This money would all go into circulation and prove a potent element in the education of the men and women who do the world's work that this republic is not ungrateful.

#### OUR COAST DEFENSES

Probably some anxious taxpayers will ask, When and why was this extensive coast-defense system started? It was in 1885, in order to make a generous way to spend more money. Have any of these big guns ever been called upon to fire at an enemy? No; not one, in all the 30 years; and furthermore, there may never be an enemy in sight for 30 years more. And when this self-same taxpayer, who has been reading in the big newspapers and magazines that our coasts are without defense, finds from the official reports that we have spent on coast defense since 1885 the enormous sum of \$175,973,699, he is liable to conclude that there is a vast array of continental liars in this preparedness game.

#### VIEWS OF OUR GREAT LEADERS

Ex-Senator Root, of New York, master mind on the question of international law, was the leading speaker before the Pan-American congress in this city on December 28. I quote a significant paragraph from his address:

Some of us believe that the hope of the world's progress lies in the spread and perfection of democratic self-government. It may be that out of the rack and welter of the great conflict may arise a general consciousness that it is the people who are to be considered, their rights and liberties to govern and be governed for themselves, rather than rulers' ambitions and policies of aggrandizement.

This is surely a covert punch in the ribs of that powerful group of war exploiters in Gotham who value blood-coined dollars as more vital than orderly democratic self-government. (Applause.)

At the same session of the Pan-American congress Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, of Cornell university, predicted the settlement of future controversies by arbitration. Force as a moral means of settling controversies, he said, had failed.

At the much-exploited Clark conference at Worcester, Mass., December 18 last, Norman

Angell, author of "The Great Illusion" and other works, whose topic was "America's need for preparedness in policy," said:

America simmering with the new-raised doctrine of preparedness, is heading straight toward war, unless she formulates before building up her armament a definite policy to tell the world that she proposes to do with her military and naval forces. America is putting a premium on naval rivalry rather than on right or wrong by this brand of neutrality.

On the 8th of November last I received a letter dated New York from the highest class group of scholars, humanitarians, and sociologists in the United States. This letter bore this precious motto as a guiding principle:

The American League to Limit Armaments is organized to combat militarism and the spread of the militaristic spirit in the United States.

As a matter of moment let me refer to some of this group—all opposed to the preparedness propaganda:

Jane Addams, the foremost woman in the United States on social and economic reform.

Felix Adler, of New York, author of *Life and Destiny*, the leading writer on social ethics and culture in America.

Ray Stannard Baker, author and scholar, leader of social reform and book writer of *Amherst, Mass.*

Silas B. Brownell, director of Princeton Theological Seminary, member of the Academy of Sciences, eminent lawyer and churchman.

C. C. Burlingham, graduate of Harvard; leading member of New York bar; United States delegate to International Conference on Maritime Law in Brussels, 1909-10.

Dr. Nicholas M. Butler, president Columbia College, New York; one of our profound scholars and students of sociology; writer and author of the great book *Why Should We Change Our Form of Government?*

Rev. Henry S. Coffin, D.D., late of Union Theological Seminary; distinguished author, lecturer, and humanitarian.

William J. Curtis, eminent New York lawyer, scholar, and reformer.

Edwin T. Devine, LL.D., graduate of Cornell University; social worker; professor of social economy, Columbia University; author of humane book *Misery and Its Causes*, and other books.

William H. P. Faunce, LL.D., late of the University of Alabama; author and humanitarian.

Austin G. Fox, of New York; Harvard Alumni Association.

Bishop David H. Greer, D.D., eminent scholar, theologian, humanitarian, and author.

Morris Hillquit, LL.D., pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, New York; student and author; wrote the *New Crusade* and other valuable books.

David Starr Jordan, of California, one of the ablest students of sociology in the United States and one of its ripest scholars; an author with an international reputation; author of the great book *The Call of the Twentieth Century*; president of Leland Stanford Junior University of California.

Clarence H. Kelsey, banker of New York; graduate of Yale University.

Adolph Lewisohn, noted philanthropist and writer and business man; contributed \$300,000 to Columbia University.

Dr. Jacques Loeb, graduate of Berlin University; late of the University of Chicago; author of a valuable work on biology.

Edwin D. Mead, lecturer and author, of Chesterfield, N. H.; secretary of the World's Peace Foundation; a high-class scholar and author of *A Study of Reformation*, also *The Philosophy of Carlyle*.

George Foster Peabody, LL.D., banker; treasurer of national democratic committee, New York Chamber of Commerce, and high-class business man.

George Arthur Plimpton, president of Amherst College; member of the American Economic Association and American Social Science club.

Gustav Pollak, born in Vienna, Austria, now of New York; contributed to the *New York Nation* and writer of force; historian and contributor to *American Encyclopaedia*; lecturer of continental reputation.

James Bronson Reynolds, of New York; profound student of social reforms; headworker of University Settlement of New York; national municipal reform league scholar; appointed by Gov. Roosevelt in 1900 on the "tenement-house commission."

Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, merchant; pres-